867 The keyéye is a bird of prey that the children nourish and which
231 is then killed on the children's heads at feasts. Since these birds live only on smaller birds or on fish, the young people are continually hunting or fishing in order to feed them. I have seen them raise a pelican in the following way. They let him fly out to sea after having painted his feathers red. This bird when grown up came back unfailingly each night to his accustomed place. [327]

635 Theft is a great crime among the Caribs who hate the theft as much as the thief. It is said that when they catch one they make a slash with the point of their knife on his shoulders, but I have never seen anyone with these marks. [307]

524 The tibotélle is a spongy fruit which the Caribs use as a ball to play with. [459] A ball which does not bounce is called tarácoüari, [452]

672 Each of the Caribs has a special friend in whom he places an extraordinarily great trust. This friend is termed ibaoüánale or nítignaom. This friendship is so great that it extends to the other brothers who call the friend or compere of their brother ininibotte.

831 [303] "Taking the bark off the wood and splitting the sapwood": this is also a term of joking with a man who indulges in women. [51] Some men are fickle in love and often change mistresses. [233]

591 Those who are bound by affinity in another carbet are called coyemánocou and coyemericou, for the men follow their wives and not the wives the men, unless they are captains. Thus those who have many daughters have a greater advantage, for their sons-in-law come to live with them, clear their gardens, make their houses, and go fish-
534 ing for them. [87] As soon as a daughter is born she is destined for her maternal cousin. Then when the two are old enough and have reached a suitable maturity they celebrate marriage. When this determined time is reached the boy goes to the place or dwelling of his promised wife, but only after the parents have consented. If the girl is going to marry a captain or the son of a captain, as it sometimes happens, she is conducted by her father and mother to his dwelling. Having arrived, she carries his dinner to him on a wicker table and eats with him, sitting on the ground. They then say pouliárou lone which is to say that she is married. They have no dance, although sometimes there is a little drinking party to honor the parents when they have come, but this is very uncommon. [283] When a girl is given in marriage to

584 —the female first cousin descending from the female line does belong to them—they ask her father for her, for they seldom marry against
582 the will of their parents. They have no degree of consanguinity forbidden among them, and it has happened that fathers marry their own daughters from whom they have children, and mothers marry their
[595] sons, although this is a very rare thing. It is quite common to see a case where two sisters have married the same man, and sometimes a
584 man marries a mother and her daughter. If a girl marries a captain or the son of a captain she is led to her husband by her father and her mother, and she carries her husband's dinner to him. The two of them eat it together, sitting on the ground in the center of the house without any other celebration, except perhaps for a little drinking party, that is to say a little debauchery between the parents, although this
● 591 is quite rare. The woman then lives with her husband. When a man who is not a captain marries a girl, he goes from his own place of residence as we have said, and lives in the house of his father-in-law.
606 In this situation the women have the advantage over their husbands, for they may speak to all kinds of people while the husband does not dare to speak to the parents of his wife, unless this restriction is dispensed with either by their age or by their drunkeness. They avoid meeting each other by making devious paths. If they are surprised in a place where they cannot take back what they have said, the one spoken to turns his head to one side in order to avoid looking at the man who speaks, if he must hear him. This strange custom was reported to me by a young man who had been a slave among them for
551 a long time. Husbands and wives change their names when they are married.

595 Polygamy is common among them and almost all of them have several wives and sometimes even six or seven. They even have wives in different islands where they are accustomed to go. It is chiefly the captain who boasts of having a large family in order to gain more credit among his people and to render himself more formidable to his enemies. A Carib who has several wives builds a small house for each of them. The husband visits them there so that
[605] for one month—they count by moons—he lives with one wife, and another month with another. Concerning this point it appears that there is no kind of jealousy among them. Women of Europe, call it a miracle if you wish!

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13 (1650-1700)

to be so accurate that they could hit a bough. The girls learned from their mothers how to cook, till the fields, weave cotton, and make hammocks.

Puberty and marriage.—At the age of puberty both sexes fasted for 3 or 4 weeks and had their skins scarified with agouti teeth. This was the time when the girls assumed the aprons and cotton anklets of women. Thereafter they were not allowed to run free but had to remain close to their mothers.

The youths were taught to value courage and endurance and were periodically rubbed with the fat of slaughtered *Arawak* to make them brave. When they had reached the age of becoming warriors they were tested in these qualities. The youth having been seated on a stool in the center of the carbet, his father crushed a bird over his head, scarified his body, and rubbed the cuts with pepper sauce. Then the boy ate the heart of the bird, to give himself courage, and his father beat him. He had to endure this entire ceremony without flinching. When it was over he lay in a hammock and fasted for 3 days. Then he demonstrated his skill in wielding a club and was accepted into the company of the warriors, being given a new name. His father gave a feast in celebration.

Specialization in shamanism began in childhood, when the candidate abstained from several kinds of flesh and underwent rigorous fasts. At puberty he was apprenticed to one of the older shamans, after going through a scarification ceremony comparable to that given to warriors.

The *Carib* youth were supposed to be chaste. Except for prostitutes, contact between young men and young women was tabooed. So was marriage with mothers, sisters, and step-sisters. Cross-cousin marriage was preferred, the sororate also being practiced, but a man was allowed other wives as well. Fathers presented their daughters to the successful warriors at the feast following each raid, and the warriors could also marry the women they had taken captive during the raid. The men with the most wives were considered the most prominent.

Girls often became engaged during childhood and sometimes were brought up by their fiancé's family. The groom usually had to obtain the consent of the prospective bride's parents. There was no ceremony except for an occasional feast, the only time the wife ever ate with her husband. Residence was matrilocal, except in the case of a chief. Each wife lived in a separate hut in her own village, often on a different island. The wives were treated as servants; they dressed and fed their husbands, cleaned and thatched the houses, tilled the fields, and carried all burdens. Their husbands could abandon them without ceremony, in which case the younger children remained with the mother and the older children were divided according to sex. Teknonymy was practiced, and a man had to avoid speaking to his wife's relatives.

Death and burial.—The *Carib* sometimes killed the old and the infirm. They feared the dead and never mentioned their names. When a man

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
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that the "fresh" odor of their blood would cause the "dog spirits" to follow and attack them and any other person who might take the same track. Actual contact with such blood would bring about local swelling, while any man so foolish as to have connection with a menstruating woman would inevitably suffer from severe backache and general debility for some time after. In Creole patois, a woman's menstrual period is known as her moon, and the Indians, formerly at any rate, held the moon to be responsible for this "sickness."

Chastity is not considered of importance in the unmarried, whether man or woman, as is evinced by the prevalence and good treatment of "outside children" in married households. Without demur, a husband will often support, together with his own legitimate offspring, three or four of his wife's children from various premarital lovers; his own illegitimate progeny, if any, remain with their mother. Conjugal infidelity, while regarded in a more serious light, seldom, if ever, leads to a permanent separation or estrangement.

Love, as we understand it, is not recognized, although instances of it no doubt exist. Carib girls usually are taken, soon after if not before they reach puberty, by surprise attack, although not by force. By that I mean (and I understand the word *wetikā* to mean) that a young man will watch for an opportunity and ambush a girl when she goes to the river or into the woods alone. If discovered, he will chase, catch, and hold her by force, although he will not resort to rape if she still resists him. The curious thing about this is that in no case will the girl shout or call for help or otherwise betray her presence to anyone passing near, when once she is caught; while, on the other hand, even should she submit, she probably will go straight home and tell her mother, knowing full well that in all likelihood she will receive a beating in consequence. This attitude may be explained, perhaps, by the Carib girl's profound sense of shame (see word *ewapuia*), combined with deep-rooted inherent passivity.

The aims of marriage are practical, the main reason being the desire to found a family as an independent economic unit. No established custom with regard to marriageable parties is recognized today, but marriages between crossed cousins (a girl with her paternal aunt's son, a boy with his maternal uncle's daughter) are still common. Although no premarital tasks are demanded of the Carib youth today, certain restrictions are sometimes placed on him during his period of courtship, which, for example, may be limited to a monthly or bimonthly visit.

Weddings (as also baptisms) are celebrated according to the rites of the Catholic Church, and are followed by a dance and drinking bout in the home of the bride's parents, where the couple henceforth take up their residence until such time as they are able to build and establish a home of their own.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
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fifty years ago—two and a half centuries after Breton's stay in the island—Rat found both terms still in use: "A modern Carib is called by his countrymen, *Karifuna*. In referring to the whole race of Caribs, the word *Karinako* is used," he says; and rather naively comments: "Raymond Breton does not mention Karifuna"!

There appear to be four names, with their variations, applied to the Caribs—the first by themselves, the other three being examples of how they were "called names" by their neighbors and enemies:

1. Callinago, calinago, kalina, karinako, karina (see kinship term 5) *karaksa* > stem kari- *heart, horn,* and suffix *-na (free)from* (cf. Breton's "*calinatoni hommes paisibles, hommes de bien*").

2. Caliponam, cariponu, karipúna, cariponum, caribona, karifuna, kiriri-na (see kinship term 6) *people disposed to hurt* (cf. Breton's *karibitani cruel-tés, cruelty* > Rat's *karibitani fearsome*).

3. Galibi, carabi, caribe, carina, caribbe, charibbee, carib, charib, carina, caribees, calibishi, caribisi, carabish. These names, although usually taken to be Europeanizations of 2, may well derive from the stem kari- (see above) and, as suffix -*the ruler*, kin (see term 8, and cf. *kibeti money*) and connote *harmful or hurtful nations.*

4. Similarly [kawaibe?] > kawabli, k'wáb (the present local Carib term) > Kalibo (place name) and French caraïbe; probably means *quarrelsome people, tribe, or nation* (cf. *kawaïti quarrelsome*).

Breton tells us that there were two main chiefs, one for the leeward, another for the windward side of Dominica, with minor chiefs or headmen in charge of the several settlements or carbets (< *tabuy longhouse*). Breton says he was laughed at when he gave one of these with the word for chief; and from other sources it does not appear that they exercised any great authority. In wartime, a special commander was appointed to lead the combined forces of several islands; and each boat had its own captain. The forces of Dominica were said to take the lead in such campaigns. War-time leaders could exact obedience, but had to relinquish their positions at the termination of an expedition. We are told that chiefs and their sons did not follow the usual custom of matrilocal residence after marriage, but brought their wives to their own homes. The tradition of one-time royalty probably refers to an hereditary chiefrainship; but it is evident that at the time of which the chroniclers wrote, chiefs were elected and might even be deposed. Candidates for chiefrainship were selected on the

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
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to his wife. He would be expected to beat a lazy or unfaithful wife; though when he comes home helplessly drunk, the roles are sometimes reversed. He may also chastise or even expel from the household older children who repeatedly misbehave themselves. Up to the age of about five, children are treated with extreme indulgence interspersed with sporadic displays of affection, temper, or indifference; and rarely learn to control their bodily functions until three or four. Later training is almost solely confined to ridicule or chastisement; and Carib parents rarely if ever question their adolescent children, or seek to direct or control their doings. Observation, not interrogation, is the rule; and even in adults, silence is the only answer to an unwelcome question. A young girl found to be pregnant might receive a beating from her mother, especially should she not have revealed her lover's identity; but pre-marital sex experience is, on the whole, taken for granted by the present generation of Caribs. Adultery on the part of a husband is not uncommon, and is regarded with indulgence provided that the wife and children do not suffer neglect thereby. Adultery committed by the wife is rarer, and much more severely judged, though it is unlikely to lead to a permanent separation. The guilty wife may be beaten, and some sort of reparation demanded from her accomplice, who acquires a sort of right as the husband's comburse (see term 20), however, to future privileges. The above remarks apply to any socially recognized, fairly permanent unions, legal or otherwise. The recent suicide of a man who had discovered his (extra-legal) wife's infidelity is said by his friends to have been due to shame at the girl's refusal to return and submit to being beaten.

That wives might be acquired in different ways, we learn from all sources. A woman's daughters and her brothers' sons had a sort of prior claim on one another, and often were promised by their parents almost as soon as born. Such engagements were not enforced, however, if they later proved distasteful to the young couple concerned or to their parents. Secondly, men might take wives of their own choice (except among those they called mother, sister or daughter), provided that the girl and her parents consented. Thirdly, a noted chief or war-chief might have to take to wife a girl presented to him, for fear of offending her parents. Finally, girls captured in war or otherwise seduced or taken without their parents' consent were called by a distinctive term (19). The former were often brought home as presents for the old men. Although the status of this fourth class was apparently somewhat inferior to that of the other wives, that of their children in no way differed from the rest. Obviously, such unions were patrilocal. Du Tertre[3] and Breton both cite cases of unions

3 J.-B. Du Tertre, *Histoire générale des Antilles* (Paris, 1667-1671).

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Perhaps it was such restrictions that led to the now all too frequent practice of lying in wait for and seducing a girl who has been sent out for wood or water. The Caribs call this "to wirikid" (*cf.* Breton, kawilikéiti *il est guillard, il monte bien*). It is remarkable that, although she may run away or resist, the average Carib girl will neither call out for help nor betray her and her would-be seducer's presence. On the other hand, once seduced, she will most likely tell her mother of it, although she knows well enough that she alone will be punished for failing to escape.

But apart from all promiscuous relations, there are many extra-legal unions whose character and stability are such that they may be termed orthodox. In these cases, the consent of the girl's parents is requisite, and it is in their home that the young man then comes to live and labor. Hence many parents' reluctance to have their sons marry, and their readiness to accept extra-legal mates for their daughters. Should the young couple prove incompatible, the husband may return to his own home, or seek another mate elsewhere; while any children of the union remain with their mother and receive occasional gifts from their father. More often, however, the union strengthens; and sooner or later a separate establishment in the vicinity of the girl's home is set up, with or without legalization of the marriage. Of romance in our sense there is little, and that little laughed at. Men look for a wife who will prove neither lazy nor weak, women for a mate who will be a good provider. Today, these qualifications are often first sought in those of mixed or full negro blood; but while a Carib man may introduce a Creole wife, a girl who marries outside the Reserve has to leave it.

Legal (or rather, religious) marriages usually take place between mature couples only and when the bride has already given proof of fertility. Actually, it is not uncommon for her to have several children who do not necessarily belong to her husband nor to any other one man. Of course children soon come to be an asset under primitive conditions, and few men are above taking advantage of a wife's pre-marital adolescent daughter; but on the whole Carib men are remarkably tolerant of a wife's pre-marital lapses, and treat her "outside children" as well as their own.

It is not possible to give any general rule as to the frequency or duration of matrilocal (unilocal) residence, as this depends on any number of circumstances. Usually, the younger and less experienced the couple, the longer will they remain without a home of their own; but lack of space or disharmony between young and old may be a deciding factor as against economic interest. The following household lists, taken at random, will serve as examples:

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591 (1) Father; mother; married daughter, her husband and their children; two
592 unmarried daughters, both with children; one unmarried son.

Three other married daughters have separate establishments in the immediate vicinity, as does one married son. Another married son lives with his wife's family some miles away, and one married daughter lives with her husband's people.

(2) Widowed mother; married daughter, her husband, and their children; widowed son; grandson (the latter is the son of another married daughter who has a separate neighboring establishment).

The widowed son's children live with their maternal grandmother.

(3) Father; mother; mother's pre-marital married daughter with her pre-marital son and her husband; mother's pre-marital son; unmarried daughter and her children; son; small son; small daughter.

586 Legal divorce is unknown to these Caribs, though they apply the word "divorce" to any separation between couples married legally or otherwise, of which there are several examples. In one case the wife left her husband because of ill-treatment; in another the husband abandoned his wife and fled to Guadeloupe (where he remarried) because he was in trouble with the English law; while yet another husband "divorced" because he could not get on with his wife's mother. Separation on grounds of sexual infidelity is very rare—chiefly because such a reason is considered too trivial to break up the union. Widows and widowers are free to remarry as and when they please.

585 Newly married couples as such are subject to no special restrictions, nor is
[601] there any formal avoidance of parents-in-law. Customs and beliefs affecting
[598] behavior at the menstrual period, during pregnancy, and after childbirth have been discussed in another paper.[7] In so far as the latter concern the father as well as the mother, they show vestiges of the couvade.

847 An illegitimate children and their parents are in no way stigmatized; abortion
844 is rare and generally condemned (although on account of changing economic conditions it appears to be now on the increase). Parturition takes place in a
[827] crouching position, usually with the aid of the parturient's mother or of some old sage-femme, who employs massage and various herbal teas or potions (such as a draught of a boy's urine) if she considers it necessary to hasten labor. When she has cut and bound the navel cord, and bathed the child, the sage-femme (or
[309] maternal grandmother) takes the infant on her lap, and inserts a finger under

7 Douglas Taylor, *Carib Folk-Beliefs and Customs from Dominica, B. W. I.* (Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol. 1, pp. 507-516, 1945), p. 513.